14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

upon Fatafehi's hereditary laugh, the more since I found it useful when debates in the House were stormy, and the opposition had to be silenced.

I was anxious to learn from Fatafehi what reception the exiles had really had, for rumours were most conflicting. From his account it appeared that while they had received no welcome from the people at large, this had been unnoticed in the presents that had been showered upon them by their immediate relations and friends irrespective of Church. They were housed in a large disused building called the "Women's College," until such time as they could make arrangements for moving to their old homes, or the mission should appoint such of them as were native ministers to vacant parishes. They had not forgotten the hospitality shown to them in Fiji, for late in the afternoon G——, who was alone in the house, saw a long train of men and women approaching with bales on their shoulders, evidently bent on perpetrating a ceremony. Now one cannot express gratitude with any accuracy in dumb-show, and the servants were therefore despatched in hot haste for an interpreter. Fortunately kind Mrs S. arrived just in time to save the situation, and reply to the set speech in which we received vicariously the gratitude due to the Government of Fiji. It took the practical shape of a pony, several live pigs, rolls of *ngatu*, mats, combs, and the inevitable kava. Like all native presents, they had eventually to be paid for in return gifts of an equal or higher value.

Our new house adjoined the Government College, being in reality the house of the English principal when such an officer existed. The undergraduates were a continuous

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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source of amusement for the first few days. On week-days they were taught shorthand and the higher mathematics by native tutors in cap and gown; in the evenings they sang incessantly in excellently sustained parts. On Saturday they turned out with knives and baskets to clean up the College premises; and on Sunday they all put on trousers and mortar-boards, and were marched off two and two to church, carrying their shoes in their hands. At the church-door the whole sixty pairs halted to put on their boots, and enter the house of God with dignity. They formed a magnificent choir of bass voices, and rendered the trashy Methodist hymns with a grandeur that would have greatly surprised their composers. During the sermon the sixth form were busy transcribing the homily in shorthand.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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652 life as well as of the next. Except for trivial amounts, they put their trust in no one; for it was currently reported that the agent in Tonga wrote to his partners in New Zealand telling them to fully insure all goods of over £50 in value, but that they might trust shipments of lesser value "to the care of Almighty Providence."

658 These difficulties were no sooner settled than a new source of annoyance broke forth. Mr Baker, just before his departure, had engaged a schoolmaster for the Government College for five years, at an annual salary of £200, which the impoverished Treasury was quite incapable of paying. He was offered, and accepted, a sum of £100 and a free passage to Sydney in full release of all claims he might have upon the Government. But before he left 658 877 Tonga he had made a secret compact with the College boys to return if his salary could be collected. The lads, actuated partly by a genuine desire for education, and partly by a boyish delight at their new-found importance, had gone to the king with Maafu—who joined them in the hope of annoying Tukuaho—and persuaded him to countermand the arrangements made for the schoolmaster's departure. The order arrived in Nukualofa too late, and before the man could be recalled from Sydney his communications to the Australian newspapers had effectually dissipated the king's wish for his return. But the scholars of the College, all thirsting for excitement, set themselves to raise contributions to pay the salary, and formed themselves into a guild to encourage education and defy the Government. The College had a brass 658 877 band and a magic-lantern: these were embarked in the 541 545 Malokula, and taken off to Haapai and Vavau as the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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nucleus of an entertainment for a money-collecting tour. Tukuaho, Tungi, and Fatafehi were indignant, but powerless to interfere. The entertainments were reported to be an immense success. The band paraded the towns, and took the half-dollars at the doors, and exhibited in rapid

succession lantern-slides of the Holy Land and "The house that Jack built," with a fine disregard to subject and sequence. The people cheerfully paid their half-dollars, dimly understanding that the money was to be used in embarrassing the Government. At last the glass chimney of the lantern broke, and the schooner made a

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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special voyage to Nukualofa to beg a new chimney from Tukuaho. It was high time to interfere with these boyish escapades, and we therefore temporised, sending a message to the band that they had overstayed their leave, and would be expelled unless they came back. This brought them to their senses, and they sailed in with flags flying, and the big drum beating defiance. They were forthwith assembled, and offered the choice between obedience to orders or expulsion. They were at first inclined to be mutinous, but on the reflection that the instruments were Government property they became more amenable to discipline.

Tonga is not the first State whose public affairs have been deranged by feminine frailty. Was there not a Mark Antony? But Mark Antony did not write shorthand nor keep the minutes of the Council, and it may therefore be doubted whether he was as necessary to the dying Republic as Uiliame Umufuke, *alias* Mataka, was to the kingdom of Tonga. Mataka was invaluable. He knew all the secrets of the Cabinet and Privy Council, yet his mouth was closed; he understood the business of each office better than the head of the Department; he could take down a speech in shorthand faster than the speaker could utter the words; and he was a more useful spy and detective than fat Peter or any of his satellites. A blow was struck at the wellbeing of the State when Mataka got into trouble, for there was but one inexorable law for the rich and the poor, the indispensable and the unnecessary.

Mataka's troubles fell on this wise. Tukuaho had a fair cousin, Lobase, who had espoused Lulu the bandmaster,

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,S (1952-1972) 197 OU9 Tonga OU9

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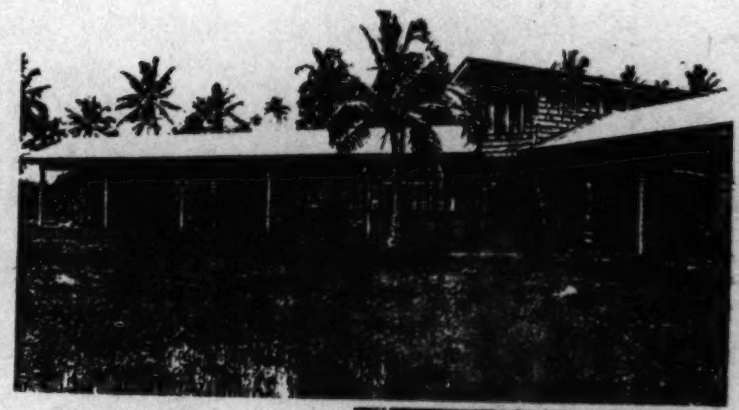

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'Atenisi Institute (above), the only privately operated educational institution in Tonga, is run by 'I. Futa Helu in Nuku'alofa; it is basically a high school, with technical and university divisions as well. There is also in Tonga a branch of the University of the South Pacific, and the photo at right shows 'Ansu Fanua in the U.S.P. library; classes at U.S.P. in Nuku'alofa include law, commerce, Tongan traditions, economics, mathematics and French. In addition, Tonga has a Teacher Training College (Nuku'alofa) and an Agricultural College ('Eua), and there are a certain number of scholarships available each year for study abroad.

Ko e 'apiako eni ko 'Atenisi (ta 'i 'olunga) 'a ia 'oku fakalele 'e 'I. Futa Helu. Ko e 'apiako pe eni 'e taha 'i Tonga 'a ia 'oku 'ikai fakalele 'e he pule'anga pe ko e taha 'o e ngaahi siasi. Ko e 'api ako'anga ma'olunga, peau 'i ai foki mo honau va'a ako faka'univesiti mo e ako fakatekinikale. 'Oku 'i Tonga foki mo e va'a 'o e 'Univesiti 'o e Pasifiki Sauta. Ko 'Ansu Fanua eni (ta 'i to'ometa'u) 'i he loki laipeli 'o e 'apiako ko ia. 'Oku 'i ai foki mo e 'Apiako Fakafaisko 'i Nuku'alofa, kau'uma'a e Kolisi Ngaue 'i 'Eua.

162 was under the age of twenty and over 90% were under the
621 age of fifty. This is similar to the age distribution within the national population at the time of the census
[166] of 1966. However, there was a higher percentage of persons
[871] in the 10-19 year-old group in Motulahi than in the nation at large, and this might be accounted for by the fact that it is fairly common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on the main island.

The distinction between persons under or above the age of twenty is significant because in speaking of Tongan adults I refer to persons aged twenty and over. The official report on the national census speaks of adults as
[871] persons aged fifteen and over (Fiefia 1968). This is related to the fact that education is not compulsory beyond the age of fourteen. However, my view is that it is not productive to classify the fifteen-to-nineteen year-old age-category as adult. The reason for this is that there are certain important differences between 15-19 year-olds and 20-24 year-olds, that are apparent not only at the
162 national level but also in Motulahi (see Table 8). Those
621 in the younger age-category, generally, are still students,
877 even though schooling is not compulsory for them, whereas few persons over the age of nineteen are still in school.
[873] (Persons still in school after the age of nineteen are
[874] those who have stayed on in high school to prepare for

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 94]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 8

161 162 621 582 877 Significant Differences between 15-19 year olds and 20-24 year olds, Nationally and in Motulahi

Criterion	National census, 1966		Motulahi 1970			
	15-19 (N=7,825) %	20-24 (N=6,219) %	15-19 (N=147) No.	%	20-24 (N=103) No.	%
Persons who are still students	77.1	7.4	116	78.9	18	17.5
Married persons	4.1	33.0	2	1.4	33	32.0

Sources: Piefia 1968; fieldwork survey.

university-entrance exams, or are those attending the Tongan Teachers' Training College.) On the other hand, as Table 9 indicates, very few Tongans are married before the age of twenty, though most are married by the time they are thirty (women usually in their early twenties and men a few years later).

Age at marriage among the population of Motulahi parallels the national picture: all but two of those under age twenty were never married. (In what follows in later chapters, these two are classed as adults for purposes of enumeration.) However, beyond determining who has never been married--which is a matter of fairly reliable public knowledge--describing the marital status of the population is difficult for the ethnographer. One can easily tell whether a man and woman are living together, but one cannot as readily know whether or not they are legally married. On the other hand, if a married couple is living apart--which they may be doing for a number of reasons (see next chapter)--one cannot rely on the veracity of what one is told about the status of the marriage. A detailed analysis of marital status, therefore, cannot be given. In the course of investigating household organization, however, I learned that it may be crucial whether or not there is a co-resident 'spouse', regardless of the legal status of the union. Accordingly, Table 10 differentiates among the adults of Motulahi according to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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institutions, convinced that the only thing that differentiated the white man from the others in ability and wisdom was their possession of superior knowledge. In a sermon preached from Hosea 4:6, 'My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge', King George declared:

> See what knowledge has done for the white man! See what ignorance has done for the men of this land! Is it that white men are born more wise? Is it that they are naturally more capable than others? No: but they have obtained knowledge . . . This is the principal cause of the difference. (Young 1854:443)

Schools followed conversion throughout the islands of the group in order to meet the demands of the people. The more new schools were established, the heavier the demand for teachers became. Teachers were recruited from among the ranks of local preachers, and many were ill-suited for their task. So weekly teachers' meetings were organised in order to help teachers with their work, but it soon became obvious that the only remedy lay in the establishment of an institution for training teachers.

Accordingly, the first training institution was opened at Neiafu, the capital of Vava'u, on 13 July 1841 by the Reverend Francis Wilson, who had proved himself a very able educationist. Characteristically, King George took the lead. Without the knowledge of the missionaries he had organised the erection of a building for the institution free of cost to the mission, and while at Vava'u he himself attended the institution regularly. He also gave a large piece of land for the use of the students, who had to grow their own food. Some of the students were married men with families. The majority were trained as teachers while a few were trained to be assistant missionaries.

Unfortunately Wilson died after several months of sickness in March 1846. In the following year, 1847, the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in the South Seas, the Reverend W. Lawry, arrived in Tonga with four new missionaries, Thomas Adams, George Daniel, Walter J. Davis, and Richard Amos. Amos was trained as a teacher at the Normal Institution in Glasgow,[3]

[3] The system, founded by David Stow, embodied the idea of educating 'the whole man' (Stow 1840:12).

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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and quite fittingly the educational work of the mission was entrusted to him. It was then decided to move the training institution to Nuku'alofa which King George, who was now King of the whole of Tonga, had decided to make his capital. In this new site, Amos was able to try out among his students the Glasgow training system. The missionaries believed that this system would suit the 'romantic and showy nature of the Tongans'. The King entrusted the education of his heir to Amos, and the trainees in the institution included both men and women, among whom were the Queen and the Chief Justice of Tonga, Setaleki Mumui, and his wife, who proved to be an extremely intelligent woman and an excellent teacher. A report on the visit of H.M.S. *Meander* to Tongatapu in June 1850 praised Amos's institution very highly (*W-M Mag.*, Jan. 1852:104). Later, circuit training schools were established.

The promotion of the educational work of the mission culminated in the establishment of Tupou College by Dr J. E. Moulton in 1866. Like the famous Malua College of the L.M.S. in Samoa, Tupou College was educating 'choice young men who would ultimately fill important positions both in the Church and the State' (Dyson, Papers of . . ., VI:76). With King George's approval, chiefs and commoners were treated alike in the school, and the only aristocracy recognised in it was that of educational achievement. In this way the Wesleyan missionaries, like their L.M.S. counterparts in Samoa, added to the Tongan social system a new élite of educated men and women (see Davidson 1967:37). The school produced not only outstanding ministers and teachers for the mission but also government officials and community leaders. Almost all the Premiers of Tonga since 1890 have been educated in this school. Families of commoner origin such as the Havea family[4] and the Taumaepeau family, whose founders were

[4] The first Tongan to be awarded a doctorate by any university was Dr John 'Amanaki Havea. He is at present (1972) the President of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. Before this, he was the Principal of the Methodist Theological College in Tonga, the first Tongan to hold that position. His father, Sione Havea, was a student of Dr Moulton. Later, he became the Head Tutor of Tupou College for many years. One of his sons, Sāleti Mānoa Havea, a distinguished lawyer and a member of Parliament, later became Minister for Police.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

catechists and preachers he used theological lectures prepared by the saintly John Hunt who died in Fiji in 1848. Amos's institution became a model also in its appearance; the homes of the married students were set in trim gardens and connected with well-kept paths. His students worked four hours each day in their food-gardens on the block of 20 acres set apart for them.

On his second visit in 1850, Lawry held an examination day for all the Tongatapu schools. It was a great festival indeed. Lawry stood on Zion Hill and was overwhelmed with emotion as he thought of the conditions that he found in 1822-3 and as he now saw the approaching lines of schools from the different villages, accompanied by their choirs:

> "The processions emerged from the luxuriant groves of evergreens and shade, and ascended the Chapel Hill, with measured step and slow pace, singing their 'songs of degrees' (psalms of ascents), the females taking their part and the men theirs, all joining in full chorus." (21)

So successful was the work of Amos in Nuku'alofa that other schools on his model were set up. Still designated "Superintendent of Schools", Amos was appointed to Vava'u. The Ha'apai Circuit in 1850 gave a glowing account of its schools; it referred particularly to Queen Salote (Lupe Pau'u), then resident in Lifuka:

> "She not merely attends as a teacher, but tries to improve herself and, although an elderly lady, yet she makes constant improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic." (22)

Much depended upon the influence of the chiefs in the various districts, and reports showed that in some cases schools lapsed altogether because of the apathy of the elders and their failure to encourage the children to attend. The imposition of civil penalties (e.g., fines) sometimes helped. Schools for adults gradually ceased.

King George had strongly supported Amos's work at Nuku'alofa and this school continued to flourish after Amos removed to Vava'u.[23] The sermon most often quoted on the subject of education was given by the king in Fiji on his way to Sydney in 1853. The text was Hosea iv. 6, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge". In his sermon he declared that the Europeans had the advantage over Tongans, not in physical but in intellectual equipment, and their fundamental strength lay in the Bible, the source of true knowledge. The king's words set the goal for the future Tupou College.

The king in that sermon expressed what all Tongan converts believed; Christianity was the religion of a Book. The Anglican divine, William Chillingworth, may have exaggerated the case when he said in 1638, "The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants", but every Protestant missionary considered it essential that the translated Scriptures should be in the hands of converts as soon as possible. The Roman Catholic priests in the Pacific had some justification for calling the Protestants "the Biblical missionaries". The pioneers, Nathaniel Turner and his colleagues, knew the importance of not only the Scriptures, but the catechism, hymns, and a simple liturgy for the people's use. The 1841 District Meeting, under John Waterhouse, set up a Translation Committee. The Meeting decided to "avoid as far as possible the introduction of foreign words" and also recommended that a specially qualified missionary be added to the staff for translating,

> "as the missionaries in Tonga do not profess a critical knowledge of the original tongues". (24)

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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designed to crush the Wesleyans. Perhaps the worst feature was the interpretation of "genuine inhabitants"; Wesleyans had to prove that their fathers and paternal grandfathers had lived in a village to establish their own *bona fides* as inhabitants there.

Meanwhile Moulton had abated the spate of circulars calling upon Wesleyans to stand firm in terms which the General Conference deputation considered embarrassing. He was, however, still indefatigable in visiting his beleaguered people in the villages. His presence and his pulpit powers had a heartening effect, but he was becoming more and more a handicap to his own cause. He maintained a stream of letters to the Premier calling his attention to frequent breaches of the laws by the courts, and other manifestly oppressive acts against the Wesleyans. His vigilance and his bitter protests met with no response from Baker, except an occasional reply that the law courts could be applied to; these courts were, very clearly, doing the reverse of serving the ends of impartiality and justice. Moulton's persistence proved an irritant and brought no relief. It would have been much better for his followers, and himself, if he had left the scene of wretched strife. His indiscreet young colleague, E. E. Crosby, also had damaged the Wesleyan cause in a preface he wrote to a published account of the persecutions:

> "King George is now considerably over 80 years of age, and his intellectual powers have been decaying for some time and he is completely under the sway of his Premier." (81)

It was only to be expected that Wesleyan Church properties no longer in use would revert to the Government. Where they were still maintained by a handful of worshippers these people were required by the usual laws to cut the grass and keep the property tidy. In Vava'u, where there were only six Wesleyans left in the whole island, it was a sheer impossibility to comply with the law; and prosecutions, with fines and imprisonment, followed. There seemed no escape for the luckless Wesleyans under these conditions.

In 1886 thirty-seven students from Tupou College were called to serve in the militia; none was called from the Government College. Each student called up was required to swear an oath of obedience, but neither the conditions of the oath nor the length of service were stated. Upon Tupou College recruits objecting to swear such an undefined oath they were court-martialled. In one case two lads were acquitted, whereupon the Premier sent a note ordering the magistrate to try the students again and to sentence them to two years' imprisonment. Evidence to this effect was given to Sir Charles Mitchell.

Baker's mind during the years 1885-6 was occupied not only with his campaign against the Wesleyans. He had political opposition, emanating chiefly from Tungi's party in the Mu'a district. Basil Thomson, then a young civil servant in Fiji, visited Mu'a in 1886 and noted that Baker was unpopular because he

> "treated the chiefs as negligible, like commoners. . . . I heard enough in Mu'a to convince me that the people, not the old Wesleyans only, were reaching the end of their tether and that an explosion of some kind, not against the king but against Baker, was imminent." (82)

Baker was concerned also about the state of the king's health and he was apprehensive about what might follow his death. The question of succession to the throne, now that 'Unga and Ngu had died, could divide the nation. Baker's own position could be imperilled. He felt that he must seek support for the coming crisis. He sought it from Germany.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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Tupou I's Queen), had 48 students in 1928 and increased steadily afterwards, under the direction of Miss Gwen Blamires and, later, Mrs. M. E. Thompson. The Primary School in Nuku'alofa had 288 pupils in 1927 and was the largest school of any kind in Tonga at that time.

A Government scholarship scheme from 1929 enabled some students from any secondary school to enter Newington College, Sydney; and others went to the Central Medical School in Suva which had been established by the Rockefeller Foundation, with support from various Pacific Islands Governments. In 1928 Tupou College, Nafualu, sent to tour Australia a choir of 30 boys, including the present king; a second, smaller choir toured the Australian States from December 1932 to April 1933.

In 1931 an Education Commission, appointed by the Government, recommended a division in secondary education — Tupou College to train future teachers and the Government College to concentrate on agricultural and technical education. It advised also that primary education should be left to the Missions, with Government subsidies. Because of party feeling, along Church and College lines, these recommendations lapsed.

For Page it was regrettable that the world-wide depression of 1929 and following years, with the very low price of Tonga's staple product, copra, gravely limited the Church's expansion. The Nuku'alofa church could not be built. Money could not be found for educational progress. The European ministers voluntarily took a percentage reduction in stipends. The teachers in Free Wesleyan schools did even more; some went month after month with no salaries and no complaints. A widowed Australian teacher, Mrs. M. E. Thompson, in charge of Queen Salote College and, afterwards, Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u, took no salary for a considerable part of her term of 22 years. From 1934 the Mission Board decided to pay the salaries of the European staff, not only as a relief to the Tongan Church, but to honour the principle that European workers were a gift from Australia to the indigenous Church. This action also rebutted any criticism from the seceding Churches that the cost of European staff was an obstacle to reunion. Page, who bore the brunt of post-union problems, waited for eleven years to take furlough.

By 1938 the Free Wesleyan Church had 25 primary schools with 2,266 pupils; with no grants, the buildings were inadequate and the teachers' salaries very low. The inequality of poll-tax assessments for students sixteen years and over had been a bone of contention since the Government College students had always been granted a concession of half-tax; partisanship delayed the granting of equal concessions to all College students until 1932.

Theological training for ministerial candidates waited until 1933 because of the surplus of ministers after union. The first theological students were accommodated at a wing of Tupou College, Nafualu; they were nine in number and included Sau Faupula, who became the first minister in the Pacific Islands to gain the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology, Melbourne College of Divinity.

* * * *

Changes in church procedure and in forms of worship came slowly, through the conservatism of the people who feared to depart from the practices of the early missionaries, and often through the opposition of the chiefs. The question of allowing preachers to wear the Tongan skirt *(vala)* was debated for some years.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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running up to tell us that they were on their way down, and shortly afterwards we were met by two of these gentlemen, Mr. Lawry and Mr. Amos, whom we accompanied to their houses. The road lay between rows of very neatly made matted fencing, by which the town was divided into regular lanes, shaded by the cocoa-nut trees and bananas which grew on each side, forming beautiful avenues over them. The missionaries had very neat cottages with green lawns before them: and we recognized, among many beautiful island plants, the rose and a variety of English flowers, together with peas and other vegetables, all of which appeared to thrive well. By the time we had made our call here it became too late to see much more that night, and we returned on board.

The following morning (June 20th) I accompanied Capt. Keppel and a party to see an examination of the native school. The scholars were all assembled upon a lawn within a fence, which enclosed the school-houses and huts of the native teachers; these were principally young women and girls—and like those we had seen upon landing, wore a kind of upper body dress of coloured cotton hanging loosely over the shoulders, with petticoats of tappa partly gathered into folds round the waist. Many had a species of convolvulus wound a great many times round the waist, surrounding the body with a mass of leaves and flowers; and all had their skins rubbed over with cocoanut-oil, which they use both as a protection from the sun, and because they think it adds to their beauty. Most of them had cotton bags containing their books and writing materials; and those who had not bags carried them carefully wrapped in pieces of new tappa. They were arranged in ranks placed so as to form three sides of a square; and one of the missionaries, standing in the centre, directed their movements by a whistle which he carried. At a preparatory call all the monitors came out and stood apart from the rest, and at a second signal they formed in line, and, led by the missionary, started off at a moderately quick step; the rest of the scholars falling in behind, all chanting at the same time in full chorus, the procession winding backwards and forwards until they formed a figure four deep. Other figures were then formed, until a signal from the missionary called a halt, and they went into the "Fálo Lautóhi," or reading-room, a large house built in the native style, where they sat down on the ground in six rows, the young women and girls being placed in the middle lines. A large number of the people attended, sitting on the ground outside. The examination opened by the scholars singing a hymn, then repeating portions of the Catechism, and going through the Multiplication Table; reading chapters from the Bible, writing and geography also formed part of their exercises. In repeat-